1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [123] [262] tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and Nay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Yamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Yit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Ewiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Ewiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food 313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large mat bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Ewiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my mat. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawas to attend the funeral ceremony. This is [593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was [262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
302 until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
301 raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
524 answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiap mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Knos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "mouki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbins because there is notone to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

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501 Yatakamps and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along ui ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwum. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruwa and Afokalis said yes he is ruwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his